

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 ACDA-19 NIC-01 RSR-01 /129 W

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P R 111141Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6221

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 09878

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, GE, UK

SUBJECT: CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN UK AND FRG FOREIGN  
MINISTERS AND GDR FOREIGN MINISTER WINZER

REF: HELSINKI 1811 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AT BONN GROUP MEETINGS ON JULY 5 AND 10,  
UK AND FONOFF REPS REPORTED ON CONVERSATIONS HELD ON  
THE FRINGES OF CSCE DELIBERATIONS IN HELSINKI BETWEEN  
THEIR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND GDR FONMIN  
WINZER. END SUMMARY.

1. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) SAID WINZER SPENT MOST OF  
HIS MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY HOME STRESSING THE  
GDR'S INTEREST IN HAVING A BRITISH AMBASSADOR ARRIVE  
IN EAST BERLIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HOME'S REPLY WAS  
THAT THE UK WISHED TO AWAIT THE APPOINTMENT OF AN FRG  
REP IN EAST BERLIN BEFORE SENDING ITS OWN MAN THERE.

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WINZER NOTED THAT TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT WERE UNDERWAY,

BUT THAT THE FRG WAS SEEKING TO "VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW" BY DEMANDING ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS OF A SPECIAL CHARACTER BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. WINZER ARGUED THAT THE COURSE OF FRG-GDR DISCUSSIONS SHOULD NOT AFFECT A DECISION BY THE UK. HOME CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION BY NOTING THAT THE UK WOULD APPOINT AN AMBASSADOR, AND A GOOD ONE, IN DUE TIME.

2. FONOFF REP (BLECH) NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE SCHEEL-WINZER MEETINGS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IN FACT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THE MEETINGS HAD BEEN THAT THEY HAD TAKEN PLACE, SINCE THEY HAD BEEN THE FIRST MEETINGS BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES. THE CONVERSATIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED IN A SURPRISINGLY HARMONIOUS ATMOSPHERE, BUT, AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, THE RESULTS HAD BEEN MEAGER.

3. BLECH SAID BOTH MINISTERS HAD AGREED THAT THE CONTINUING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES SHOULD NOT HAMPER COOPERATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK. TO AID SUCH COOPERATION, THE MINISTERS AGREED THAT THEY WOULD NOT GIVE POLEMIC TREATMENT TO THEIR DIFFERENCES IN THEIR SPEECHES AT CSCE. PROBLEMS BETWEEN THEM WOULD, HOWEVER, NOT BE GLOSSED OVER, EITHER AT CSCE OR WITHIN THE UN. BOTH MINISTERS AGREED THAT THE TWO GERMAN STATES CARRIED A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO AID IN EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS IN EUROPE AND GUARD THE PEACE.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THIS PRINCIPLE, SCHEEL MADE CLEAR TO WINZER THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REMAINED COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT OF ONE GERMAN NATION AND THAT THIS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACET OF ITS POLICIES. WINZER SAID ONE COULD SAY MUCH ABOUT THE HISTORICAL CONCEPT OF THE GERMAN NATION, BUT THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THE GDR WOULD NO LONGER ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF SPECIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES. THIS WAS NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CONFIRMATION OF SOVEREIGNTY OF BOTH

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THE FRG AND GDR WHICH HAD COME IN RECENT MONTHS. ACCORDING TO BLECH, SCHEEL REPLIED THAT THE CONCEPT OF ONE NATION DID NOT MEAN THAT THE FRG WOULD INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE GDR OR THAT IT WANTED TO CHANGE THE PRESENT SITUATION BY FORCE.

5. WINZER SAID HE HAD FOUND CONSULTATIONS CONDUCTED BETWEEN FRG AND GDR DELEGATIONS AT CSCE TO BE OF GREAT

VALUE AND THOUGHT SUCH CONTACTS SHOULD BE CONTINUED AND EXTENDED ALSO TO MBFR AND THE UN. WINZER THOUGHT IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO ESTABLISH FORMAL CONTACT BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES OF THE TWO STATES. SCHEEL SAID HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO WORKING LEVEL CONTACTS BETWEEN APPROPRIATE DIVISIONS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES,

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6222

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 09878

BUT MADE CLEAR THAT THE MAIN CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO STATES WOULD BE THE PERMANENT MISSIONS IN BONN AND EAST BERLIN. HE MADE CLEAR THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRIES WOULD BE ONLY ON TECHNICAL SUBJECTS AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR.

6. BLECH SAID WINZER ALSO COMPLAINED IN HIS FIRST MEETING WITH SCHEEL ABOUT FRG RELUCTANCE TO AFFORD FULL

DIPLOMATIC PRIVILEGES TO THE GDR PERMANENT MISSION IN BONN (SEE BONN 9541). BLECH NOTED THAT THESE FINAL TWO POINTS INDICATED THAT THE GDR WAS APPARENTLY NOT YET READY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE OUTSTANDING POINTS OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MISSIONS. IN THEIR SECOND MEETING JULY 7, WINZER RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT MISSIONS. ACCORDING TO THE FRG REPORT, WINZER HAD INDICATED FEAR THAT THE FRG AND OTHERS WOULD

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IN COMING MONTHS ATTEMPT TO REGRESS FROM THE PRESENT LEVEL OF AGREEMENTS. WINZER STRESSED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT HE INTERPRETED THE BASIC RELATIONS TREATY AS PROVIDING FOR EXCHANGE OF EMBASSIES BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES (PERMANENT MISSIONS SIMPLY HAVING BEEN USED AS A SYNONYM FOR EMBASSIES). SCHEEL DENIED THIS. SCHEEL REPORTEDLY DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT NO ONE WOULD NOW DENY THAT THE GDR COULD BE RECOGNIZED AS A STATE, AND THAT THE GDR SHOULD NOT VIEW THE NON-EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS WITH THE FRG AS DEGRADING. SCHEEL ALSO REPORTEDLY ASSURED WINZER THAT GDR REPS WOULD GET ALL NECESSARY PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES IN THE FRG, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE VIENNA CONVENTION WOULD NOT DIRECTLY APPLY TO THE EXCHANGE OF PERMANENT MISSIONS.

7. BLECH SAID HE HAD NOT BEEN SURPRISED BY WINZER'S REMARK ON EMBASSIES/PERMANENT MISSIONS, INASMUCH AS THE GDR FOREIGN MINISTER HAS THE REPUTATION OF BEING ONE OF EAST BERLIN'S HARDLINERS ON INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS GENERALLY. BLECH SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SOME GDR OFFICIALS WHO SHARE WINZER'S VIEWS HAD IN FACT HOPED HE COULD EFFECT SOME CHANGES IN FRG POSITIONS DURING HELSINKI TALKS WITH SCHEEL. BLECH FELT OPTIMISTIC, HOWEVER, THAT WINZER COULD BE CONVINCED NOTHING COULD BE DONE TO CHANGE THE TITLE OF THE PERMANENT MISSIONS. HE THOUGHT THE FRG HAD MANAGED TO APPEAR FAIRLY FLEXIBLE IN HELSINKI WHILE YIELDING ON NO MAJOR POINTS OF SUBSTANCE.

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